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The medicine-men

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Ol-oiboni," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 224-230, and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Mbatian, who died about 1890, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, at his death, of his son Seggi, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify.

The Laibons.

The Masai as a stockman.

The prowess displayed by the pastoral Masai "Muran" in raids on surrounding tribes combined with their ceaseless activity in following this pursuit made their name dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually Europeans penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1904, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 80,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 200,000 when the mobs which were attempting to move south had been more thoroughly examined. 50,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 200,000 head were counted. By March 1914, all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 600,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. R. W. Hemsted, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way so exact, but, after allowances have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,600 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the aversion shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease, and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains untenanted on that account, no attempt having been made to utilize veterinary skill and treatment in rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 43,000 souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £110 per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest uncivilised tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their national diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock.

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character and great reputation as a medicine-man, but even his influence does not extend throughout the Purko and Loita divisions. The Council presided over by Sendeu also possesses a certain measure of authority, but these two present the only instances where respect is given and the respect shown in these cases is due almost entirely to the personalities of the individual presidents and not to the system which they represent.

The Kikuyu element in the Masai Reserve. 563

The population of the Masai Reserve numbers not much more than 40,000 of whom the great majority are Masai, but which also includes a considerable number of pure or half-caste Kikuyu. The indigent lives led by the Masai pastoralists possess considerable attraction for the neighbouring Kikuyu, who being less wealthy, are under the necessity of performing agricultural and manual labour either in their reserves or on alienated lands. For many years, the Kikuyu and Masai have engaged in trade, and their lands being contiguous, they have had ample opportunities for intercourse. To satisfy their ambitions of an idle life, migrations of individuals from Kikuyu to Masai country have been of not infrequent occurrence and the Masai Reserve therefore contains these scattered units, mainly among the divisions known as the Kaputiei and Il Dala Lekutuk.

Masai aversion to manual labour. 648* 461 241

The policy of the Government in dealing with the native tribes in the East African Protectorate has been to develop their agricultural instincts and industry and to discourage tendencies towards pastoralism. This policy has been pursued with success among the Kavirondo, Kikuyu and other tribes who, when encountered by the administration were under the necessity of engaging in agriculture and has been introduced with fair results into the system of such pastoral tribes as the Nandi and Lumbwa, but with the Masai it has been a total failure. Though encouragement has always been given, the Masai have shown no inclination to till the soil, and in the only recent cases where gardens have been prepared at the instigation of Masai owners, the labour employed was drawn from the Kikuyu tribe.

Work by Kikuyu in the Masai Reserve. 648* 563

The increased activity in recruiting natives as porters for the Carrier Corps necessitated by the military situation in March and April, 1917, led to the emigration of a number of Kikuyu from their own country into the Masai Reserve, and these emigrants, with a view to escaping enrolment, signed agreements to work as servants for Indians, Somalis and Masai. Colonel Ainsworth, then Military Commissioner for Labour, represented that, while such evasion of their duties was highly reprehensible in regard to the employment with Indians and Somalis, any system which admitted of Kikuyu working for Masai was open to the greatest objections on both administrative and economic grounds. The question of such Kikuyu emigration to the Masai Reserve and elsewhere was discussed in Executive Council in June, 1917, and was referred to the Chairman of the Special Committee appointed to consider the "Resident Natives Bill," but no decision on the matter has yet been reported.

Present policy in dealing with Kikuyu emigration.

In view of the general desirability of discouraging such emigration of Kikuyu natives, the policy has been adopted in the Masai Reserve of prosecuting all Kikuyu living in that reserve who cannot claim by long residence or circumcision rights to have become Masai, and of returning them to their own reserve. This policy applies to the cases of all those Kikuyu who have joined the Masai since the move from Laikipia. Efforts have also been made to register all Kikuyu who may be considered to have become Masai.

The Paramount Chief. 648* 791 643

An important step in the revision of the system of Masai administration was undertaken early in 1918, when for reasons mainly connected with the personality of the holder, the Acting Governor recommended that the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai should be abolished.

Seggi.

At the time of Lenana's death, in 1911, Seggi was still a boy, and control over the Masai was exercised by the two regents, Ngaroya and Legalishu. When Seggi came of age and assumed the duties assigned to him in his capacity as Paramount Chief, he was given an extended trial but proved himself to be totally unreliable. He lacked energy, physique and moral courage: he was intemperate and untrustworthy: he appeared to regard any administrative function as an

Population. 162

With regard to the potentialities of the Masai as a tribe, it must be borne in mind that the total population of the Masai in the Masai Reserve numbers no more than 43,000. Of these, it may be assumed that about 20,000 are males of all ages, while some 4,500 are Muran. Taking the proportion normally maintained among other native tribes, for which more accurate statistics are obtainable, it is found that approximately 10,000 males are boys under the age of the Muran class, while the remaining 5,500 are elders. It will thus be seen that the tribe under consideration is relatively small in regard to population, and that, therefore, specialization will be necessary if the attributes of the tribe are to be utilized to their fullest capacity.

Conservatism. 181

Sufficient has already been said of the conservatism and slothfulness which are the dominating characteristics of the Masai. The state of idleness in which both young and old live has proved a barrier to progress which has resisted all efforts made in the past to introduce development on civilized lines. The only measure which has attained to any degree of success in the establishment of trading centres, where a carefully controlled trade has opened the eyes of the Masai to a small extent to the advantages of imported articles, and has created some desire on their part to invest a proportion of their enormous capital in trade goods. Even so, it appears that they have not been induced to desire anything more progressive than flour, sugar, and honey in the way of food, and such imported articles as umbrellas, blankets, cotton sheeting, knives, axes, and cooking pots. They are still in a most primitive state.

Employment for the Masai. 178 464 561

The semi-military organization which has been handed down by their ancestors is still preserved, and continues to act as a deterrent to any innovation. Now that raids are ended, the Muran have nothing to occupy their attention, and it is this fact that has rendered it necessary to consider the possibilities of developing them into useful citizens along a definite line of policy, rather than to adopt merely normal administrative pressure, which has been so successful among the other tribes of the Protectorate. Of their own free will, the Masai will do nothing except fight with the weapons they know, and the young men of between sixteen and twenty-five years of age have now no occupation of any description. It is on behalf of these youths, the Muran, that the first steps in the necessary policy must be taken.

Stockmen. 464 561

It is known that, by their training from their earliest years, the Muran are experts in the handling of stock. Each boy has been accustomed to herd hundreds of head of cattle since the days when he started to walk, and there is probably no other nation in the world that can boast such a measure of success in this branch of knowledge. But, after circumcision and the assumption of the status of warrior, the youth leaves the care of stock to younger boys, and his ability in this direction is thereby wasted.

On European farms. [461] [147]

It is said that about fifteen per cent. of the Masai of the Muran class are employed by various farmers in herding cattle, but, even to this extent, the value of their services is largely discounted by the aversion which they show to the performance of work which they consider to be derogatory to their dignity—and the limits of what is not undignified are very materially confined. Manual labour of any kind is regarded as objectionable, and the Masai are physically incapable of carrying loads. But, if they are given a wage high enough to satisfy their avarice, if they are considerately treated, and if they regard the climate of their employer's land as suitable, they cannot be improved upon as cattle herds.

Demand for such labour.

In normal times, the number of settlers in the Protectorate who would make use of this class of labour is not large, and the demand for public purposes is smaller still, while the utility of the Masai as a whole in this connection is greatly diminished by their dislike of working for a European whom they do not know, and by the weakness of their constitution, which renders them suitable for work in a restricted area only. In order to make the Masai suitable for general employment even as cattle herds, therefore, it is necessary either to alter their conception of their dignity so as to make their services of more general application, or else to insist on their performing for a smaller remuneration the work that they will consent to do.

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essential problem before the Government at the present time in dealing with the Masai is how to turn this annual increase into a realizable asset. The proposals for imposing upon the Masai a tax of two rupees per head of cattle per annum, approved by the Governor in January, 1918, fell through mainly owing to the impossibility of procuring a market for the quantities of almost worthless stock that would have been produced in payment, and it is difficult to see how this objection is to be overcome unless some much more marketable commodity is produced. Purchase by local residents and firms of the kind of Masai stock that would come in as a result of the imposition of such a tax would in all probability be very limited in extent, and no business firm has yet come forward with proposals for taking over such stock for canning or export by other means. It has not yet been proved or disproved that such Masai stock is marketable for the purposes of human consumption, but it is a fact that much of the stock from the Masai Reserve produced for slaughter by the military authorities was returned as unsuitable, and while it is extremely improbable that the Masai would be able to pay their tax in cash, it is only reasonable to expect that the worst stock would be paid in in lieu of cash where that was unobtainable.

Taxation.

Problem of taxation.

The problem, therefore, appears to be as follows. If the necessary staff is provided, a tax can be collected from the Masai at the rate approved which will bring in stock assessed at £100,000 annually. Of the money realized, £50,000 is to be devoted to works in the Masai Reserve which will so improve the conditions therein as will not only render it capable of maintaining a larger number of stock, but will also so alter the conditions as to make it probable that a higher grade of cattle could be supported in the reserve. When this last step has become effective, it may reasonably be assumed that a market will be forthcoming for the cattle paid in as a tax, but it is not yet proved that it will be possible to realize the value of the stock collected in the earlier years. A trial alone can demonstrate this.

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Masai as an asset to the Protectorate.

Enough may now have been said on the subject of the potentialities of the reserve, but it must also be borne in mind that, of the proposed cattle tax, one half of the proceeds are to be paid into the general revenue of the Protectorate, and that it is a matter of concern not only to the reserve, but to the Protectorate as a whole, that the proceeds of the tax should be forthcoming in the shape of a realized asset as soon as opportunity occurs. The Masai have hitherto paid a hut tax at the rate of three rupees per hut, which sum, amounting to less than £3,000 per annum, has not covered the cost of their administration, but the proposed tax will not only cover the cost of the administration of the reserve, but will leave a considerable balance for the general development of the Protectorate, while the needs of the Masai Reserve can be attended to to the fullest extent of which the staff is capable.

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Masai residing in the reserve.

Of the Masai residing within the reserve, the most that can be expected of those who are not tending cattle is that they will help in the performance of the public works which are destined to be undertaken therein. Hitherto they have not been employed on such works, as manual labour does not appeal to them, and it is indeed doubtful if such a change will be brought about in their temperament as to induce them to perform this. That the position may not be hopeless is perhaps suggested by the fact that certain sections of the Somali tribe who had until recently maintained an attitude similar to that adopted by the Masai, commenced manual labour last year, and a corresponding change for the better may still occur among the Masai.

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Future of the Masai.

Conditions have so greatly altered in the Masai Reserve during the last few years that the power of the medicine-men as a class has greatly decreased. The insistence on education for the Masai may further enlighten them, may undermine their conservatism, and may encourage them to discard their prejudices. An organized movement to show the Masai the development that is going on around them and to drive home to them the fact that unless they progress they are bound to disappear in the circumstances attendant on the introduction of civilization may have its effect in eventually bringing them to a conception of their duty. The Masai problem has not yet been tackled, but the prospect of rendering them useful citizens of the Empire is not entirely without hope.

Masai for active service and other war work. 648* 464

There are, however, one or two matters in which the Masai do not show to such advantage. Beyond their work in their own country as scouts and herds the Muran have not laid themselves open to recruitment for any purpose. It was not to be expected that these indolent stockmen would submit to recruitment for service as porters, for which work they are unsuited both by physique and temperment, but it would not have been unreasonable to assume that it might be possible to recruit them in large numbers for service as herds in the stock depots outside their own country. It appears that the Masai are strongly predisposed to residence in their highlands and practically no success attended efforts made to induce them to enlist in that capacity.

The experiments which have from time to time been made to obtain suitable members of the Muran class for service with the forces have already been described (*vide* Chapter VI., Section 6). The Masai are practically the only administered tribe in the East Africa Protectorate who have not assisted the allied cause in the field by the provision of recruits for the King's African Rifles.

Donkey boys.

Another matter in which the Masai have failed where they might have been expected to succeed was in the provision of donkey boys for transport work in German East Africa. As demonstrating the supineness of the tribe it may be advisable to record at some length the steps that were taken in this connection.

In April, 1917, the military authorities asked for two hundred and fifty youths as donkey drivers and suggested that it might be possible to enlist a number of Masai for this purpose. The District Commissioner, Narok, replied that volunteers were unobtainable and that compulsion would be necessary to obtain such men. The Muran were about to begin their E-Unoto ceremony, and if compulsion were to be applied to obtain the younger men as recruits collection would necessarily be slow. Such recruitment would also be difficult unless high wages were paid as the Masai were accustomed to receive a minimum wage of ten rupees per mensem for work in any capacity at any place. [465]

In reply to a query from the Military Commissioner for Labour, asking if the provisions of the Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance could be applied to the Masai Reserve, the Officer-in-Charge replied that they could be applied to the uncircumcised youths the eldest of whom were of age for circumcision. The application of the Ordinance to the Muran at the time when they were about to commence their ceremony would awake strong opposition from them as well as from the Chiefs, Headmen and Elders. It will be remembered that the E-Unoto ceremony had about that time been the subject of considerable negotiations in reference to the claim to Kinangop and Mr. Hemsted thought that a further delay in the performance of the ceremony which would be necessitated by such recruitment would be inadvisable for political reasons.

Endeavours were made to obtain suitable recruits but the number forthcoming was inconsiderable. In the past no compulsion had been brought to bear on the Masai to go out to work, very few settlers had much use for them, and those who did employ them were rather inclined to treat them as pets. In consequence the Masai were very reluctant to come forward to work under the very much less favourable conditions proposed. Volunteers for work as donkey boys in the Carrier Corps were quite unobtainable and Mr. Hemsted considered that the application of the Ordinance would be difficult and probable ineffective. The Masai would willingly pay ten times the maximum penalty allowed rather than do any kind of work they disliked or considered derogatory to their dignity and he was of the opinion that they would also prove extremely unsatisfactory for the class of work required. It was doubtful if they possessed constitutions strong enough to stand the climate or arduous conditions combined with a radical change in their usual diet and he thought that desertions would be frequent. Work such as that in the Carrier Corps would be too sudden a change from their present conditions and if the Masai were to be brought into line with the common policy and compelled to prove their usefulness he considered that some other kind of employment more in accordance with what they were fitted for and which would be less disagreeable to them should be found for them in the first place. The transition from a life of ease and idleness combined with a plentiful diet of milk [461]

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Moran. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Moran in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1930 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 32s. 50 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 23 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 175.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

B. The duties of Laigwanak — in theory — and in practice — influence in raids and war — position in regard to individual disputes.

One method of discovering the duties of the laigwanak is to ask them what they regard as their task. This method does not necessarily show what they actually do in practice, but it gives a very good idea of their own conception of the office. Placed by different informants in different orders, the following list represents the majority of the answers given :— 561 624

(a) To collect cattle for, and organise deputations to the laibon.
(b) To represent their age in disputes with other ages, and to prevent such disputes from developing into fights.
(c) To lead their people in war, or now-a-days, to prevent them going on raids, (probably a sop to the questioner).
(d) To settle individual cases — payment of debt, compensation, blood-money, etc.

One old gentleman, whose duties as laigwanan take him from his boma perhaps once or twice a year, imagined himself so over-worked that he described a laigwanan's duties as being like those of a houseboy! [461]

The above are specific duties, but what may be called the guiding principles were best summed up by the Kisale laigwanan of Losogonoi — "a laigwanan does not like to see a poor man robbed by a rich, or an old man oppressed by a young one."

But how far are these principles lived up to in practice? How are the above duties fulfilled? The organisation of deputations to the laibon, if informants are to be believed, fell in the old days mainly on the laigwanan of moran, as when he went to get charms for war, or to take the laibon his share of raided stock. But now-a-days this duty falls on all ages except the very senior, i.e. from Dalala upwards. If one age, say Dareto, thinks it good to send a deputation to the laibon in conjunction with the other ages, the Dareto laigwanan will call the Kisale and Dwati laigwanak and ingobir to a meeting. Here it will be decided how many cattle each will contribute, and when the deputation will depart. Thereupon the leaders of each age call a separate meeting, and decide who shall go to the laibon, and who shall contribute cattle. It is the meeting and not the laigwanan which decides these points, but the laigwanan, having obtained his position by virtue of his strength of character, probably has more say in the matter than the others. Considering that these cattle are often in the nature of fines, and that a journey to the Laibon at Mondul is frequently unpopular, it is a tribute to the Masai organisation that such meetings pass off peacefully. No instance is on record of a single dispute coming to official notice arising from such cause. The laigwanan does not necessarily escort the deputation, but quite frequently he does. On the return of the deputation a meeting is again held to hear a report of the laibon's message, and, if a local ceremony has been decreed, to make arrangements for holding it. In any given area it is improbable that a single year passes without the dispatch of a deputation, or the holding of a local ceremony. So, considering the time it takes a Masai meeting to reach a decision, these duties must occupy a considerable — but not inordinate — proportion of a laigwanan's time.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

439 whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted [126] mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

224 Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

46 Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, " too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

101 The agricultural Masai, the I-Lumpua (Lumbwa) and Il-Oikop of former days,
175 are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat,
[178] were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Oikop have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of " Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndaseriani (Ndare serian), 15 miles south-west of Narosura; in the region known as Nguruman (*in-kurman*, " the farms ") for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at Kahe.[8] Von Höhnel adds Ndasekera, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.[9] Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[10] at Taveta; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Manyara. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-jemusi (Njemps) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

184 With the exception of the Taveta group, the agricultural Masai in general
22 resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Taveta have mingled with the Taveta,[11] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly eleusine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[8] *Das Massai-Land*, 1885, map at end.
[9] *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 3.
[10] *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery*, etc., II, pp. 2, 3.
[11] Called by the Masai il Tupeita, sing. ol Tupeitai.

791 /19 cont./
175 was followed by Subet and the latter by Mbatyan. After the latter's
[619] death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana,
the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbatyan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbatyan was lying on his sickbed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana in the secret arts of the ol oiboni. The two are now bitter enemies,
[669] who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai people. Lenana, now a man about 49 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an
175 outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai
619 experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Sitonik and
791 Subet had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down
726 their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no
[669] danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbatyan kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared. The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on
175 neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Meru people were
619 successfully mastered; indeed, they even became so pliable that
791 they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must
729 bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people
466 look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something dis-
461 graceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

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619 /20 cont./
791 understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thou-
727 sands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines,
466 men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kinoŋo, lying
• [466]

Merker phot.

Ill. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.

175
619
791 west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his
727 ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby --
466 a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank
[462] and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes,
175 the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended
648 their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the
721 Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for
robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate
hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities
of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

175 The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which
791 Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient
755 quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the
ol mogoŋora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that
it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

/112 cont./

564 326 197 198 114 563

/footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbwa blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

564 326 461 114

The opinion of many a European, that the /112/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El lumbwa who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

564 326 783

Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

564 326

Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Kiguma from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol brugga people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

564 326 361 314 319 564 326 314

While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el lumuno have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (el engwe) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (el nindarbore). The smith makes his tools as well as his

/116 cont./
the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire are made by the other Masai women. The small chains of iron and copper wire are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring tribes.

XIV.

Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

The most outstanding trait in the character of the Masai is their national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it only for them. All non-Masai are subject to the Masai people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Masai as for his children, they need not work "ol dobirr ngiti nidi" a work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Masai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Masai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by Ng ai for the Masai.

In general the Masai designates all non-Masai as ol mag (sing. ol maglo) a term that is to be translated as "unbeliever." /117/ The Masai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

/119 cont./

593 181 [186] The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity: they stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love bind the individual members of the family; they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

181 • 461 564 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, 735 602 since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration: the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a 574 share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous [572] as one is good-natured: the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night [837] by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves house and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The 181 cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

181 /120 cont./ If they
[567] spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impudence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both oi boror and oi adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is especially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
• 461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[517] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song[illegible] before their marriage, when they could have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably. /121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life among the hated and despised ol ngiz as a disgrace and the work required of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

123 824 Our use of the capture gun to capture and mark wild animals was of particular interest to the Masai. 123 461 824 They would often come up to watch us. Masai are famed for their refusal to carry out manual labor of any sort hence are regarded in East Africa as poor helpers on safari. However, labor, where it involves animals, is another matter. Sometimes Masai would come up and voluntarily help us handle captured animals, and this they did very well. We even experienced Masai coming to our camps to talk about our capture work that they had observed from a distance.

123 262 609 When we had extra meat from animals that we collected, we took it to the nearest Masai village. Most writers have reported that Masai will not eat the meat of most wild animals. We found, however, that they gladly accepted it in most cases. They always wanted to know what animals were involved. In several cases, when we first approached a village those who came out to meet us would refuse the meat. Then someone who knew us or knew of us would appear and accept the meat, explaining that the others did not know us.

123 757 Virtually all visitors to Maseiland are regarded as a sort of travelling dispensary by the Masai. This is true throughout the world for most people who do not have